AF
*175 2. If a plot to rebel against the Lord is discovered every
*648 effort will be made to persuade the plotter to abandon his
669 plan and, if persuasion fails, the plot shall be reported
728 immediately. Any trouble caused the retainers entering this country will be taken care of.

3. No harm will come to any *Shamo* (mainlander) traveling in this country on an errand of the Lord. Any *Shamo* will be welcome and given food even if traveling on his own private business.

4. No harm shall come to hawk roosts or to gold mines.

5. As hereafter ordered by the Lord, we promise to have reasonable and peaceful relations with merchant vessels. Buying from other countries is forbidden as is the sale of the goods produced in this country to them. Those who bring back skins and dried salmon from foreign countries with the intention of selling them here shall be punished.

AF
[436] 6. Hereafter the trade rates will be five skins or bundles of dried salmon to one sack of rice. Presents, tobacco and hardware, will be valued in accord with the value of rice. When trade goods are abundant the values of skins and salmon will be lowered.

7. No harm will come to messengers of the Lord, whether they be on foot or on horse or whether the message be by hawk. Dog meat for hawks shall be supplied whether it is paid for or not.

We, our offspring and our kinsfolk, regardless of sex, swear to observe the above mentioned promises. May God punish and destroy all those who may violate this oath.

AF
*C98 Signing this pledge, the Ezo surrendered and all
*175 possible threats of rebellion vanished. After 1685 the
● [651] chief of western Ezo paid an annual tribute to the Matsumae. The Ezo living from Urakawa on the east coast to Mashike on the west coast surrendered, signed the oath and thereby obligated themselves to engage in trade to the profit of the Matsumae, supply labor for the legates of of the Lord and dog food for the hawks. In July of that year the Ezo of Kushiro, Akkeshi, Noshappu, and Tokachi, none of whom had taken part in the rebellion, came to Kunnui and pledged themselves to peace while the Ezo north of Masuke came to Yoichi the next year for the same purpose. Thus the whole of Ezo gradually was coming under the power of the Matsumae.[28]

The fact that a small number of agitators had been able to arouse the natives of a widespread area makes obvious the oppressive treatment of the natives by the Japanese. This is emphasized by the fact that those who rebelled were the ones in contact with the Japanese while the Ezo in remote areas with little connection with the Japanese remained aloof from the struggle or made their own peaceful pacts with the Matsumae. The revolt was a revolt against the invasion, control, and destruction of themselves by Japanese capitalism. But in the end the natives were forced to accept unfavorable conditions and the political and economic pressures on them increased.

[28] In regard to this incident the following have been consulted: *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: chap. 14 and *Ezo Hōki Gairyaku Ki* (Outline history of Ezo revolts).

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2

villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Hekirichi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and Otobe were any natives to be found. And even this small number was steadily diminishing as can be found in *Ezo Dan Hikki:* "Probably because the Ezo preferred not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved inland and very few are seen these days." According to a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses and three villages.[30] The reasons for this decline of the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese but also have their cause in the spread of contagious diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa and Otobe are almost gone, many having died of smallpox and measles." The decrease in population frustrated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands. Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the daimyō. But while they work some of the land they do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary substitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Payment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a five × six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven bundles each." These payments applied to those who had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae control and had just begun to trade and although involved in disputes with each other were independent. The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Japanese jurisdiction in 1799.

When all the above facts are considered it seems that the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native control.

[30] Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ōtō hikae (Memorandum on answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tōzai Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain)

[P. 37(B)]

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan A02
A
F
*648
*175
185
[658]

lead to serious trouble in the future. Rather let interpreters familiar with the ways of the Ezo be sent to various parts of the island and there let them educate the natives with due respect for their traditions and let the natives in turn teach their families. About once a year high clan officials should make an inspection tour of the island and reward those natives who have made especially good progress thus encouraging them all. Follow such a policy and the Ezo will, in no time at all, become members of Japanese society. After this has been accomplished the Ezo are to be armed with guns and prepared to fight on our side in event of emergency. It is not dangerous to arm the Ezo. He proves this by citing the 1669 and 1789 incidents and the revolts of farmers on the mainland. He adds that a good control measure would be to have the Ezo chiefs come to Matsumae in order to be awed and impressed by its magnificence.

In order to see how his opinions influenced Bakufu policy, it is necessary to make some comparisons. It is clear from a review of these many opinions that a benevolent attitude toward the Ezo was considered of prime importance. The various opinions differed in their emphasis and indeed opinions and methods of operation tended to change with the importance of the Ezo question and in relation to men's knowledge of Ezo. In the beginning a native policy had been considered subsidiary to the colonization of the island but gradually the importance of the native policy came to the fore—particularly when it was believed to be a desideratum for defense. It was further believed that the Russians were being terribly clever in using benevolence for aggressive purposes and in displaying generosity and kindness to the natives instead of power and force. This became all the more assured when the striking contrast between Russian native policy and Matsumae native policy was known. It was then that the virtues of benevolence were trumpeted. The Bakufu's management of Ezo was based on the same reasons. This is fully described in the policy discussed by Matsudaira Tadaaki and four others after the decision had been made by the central government to assume direct control of Ezo.

Following is an extract from the *Kyumei Kōki:*

F
[18]
A
●[651]
[439]

The natives in Ezo, although they are human beings, are a very ignorant people. And the Matsumae, being a small clan, has been unable to govern the island by itself. Therefore, the island was divided into many *Basho* and entrusted to merchants under contract and in return the Matsumae received taxes from them. Later, when the Matsumae were in financial straits, these taxes were raised. But the cunning merchants first secured their profits and transferred the burden of higher taxes to the Ezo by cheating on weight or quantity or even by selling spoiled goods. The Ezo, having been mistreated for years, have come to loathe the rule of the Matsumae. On the other hand, Russia has been expanding in recent years not by war but by winning the confidence of people with kind and generous

A F *C98 *175

the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.[3]

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

A [439] [431]

A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

A F *C98 437 624 *175

The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

[3] Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

A [651]

Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

1:Takakura ~ H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
Feudal Japan AB2
A
F
*G48
*105
457
436

of the order establishing it with no alterations allowed. In the *Ezochi Torishirabe Narabini Kaikoku no gi Aifukume Torihakarai kata Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuke* (Suggestions on the Development and Regulation of Ezo) submitted by the Commissioners to the Council we find: "A rate of exchange is needed . . . this rate to be fixed by law." *The Abuta Basho Daigaisho* (General Survey of the Abuta *Basho*), written in 1809, says:

A
[C51]

> All goods, either Ezo or mainland, shall be bought in money. The mainlanders will have 20 per cent of all sea products deducted as tax. On the remainder 20 per cent will be deducted for marine charges and, in addition, there will be freight costs. If any fishing equipment or other necessities have been purchased these must be paid for before any money is turned over. But if the fishing has been poor and debts for purchases cannot be met they may be paid the following year. As for the Ezo, their products shall be bought according to a fixed price for each good.

And from the *Hokusui Taimon:*

> Prices seem to vary in the different *Basho,* and they are fixed in each *Basho* according to the same rate that had been used there last year. This price cannot be changed by individuals and the rate for government trade applies as well to the private trade. The price differs slightly according to the *Basho* but it was set by the government and cannot be tampered with.

In looking over the rates we find that fixed prices were not necessarily to the advantage of the Ezo. In fact one could well complain that Ezo goods were undervalued and Japanese goods overvalued.[20] This was because the official rates were set at the rates prevailing when the government took over—which happened to be rates profitable to the contractors—and the government rates were, from time to time, modified so as to

[20] In 1800 Mogami Tokunai reported in his Ezochi no gi ni tsuki zōnji yori sōraiaba enryōnaka moshiagu beki yo ōsē kikasare sōrō (Opinions on Ezo transmitted to the Bakufu in accord with instructions that such be done without delay) that "Trade in Ezo has, since the past, been conducted on a fixed exchange rate. For example one sack of rice containing 8 shō is exchanged for approximately 120 salmon. At nearby *Basho* the rate may drop to 100 and if the fishermen are secretive [about the catch] the rate may drop to 60, 50, or even 40 salmon. And yet even at this low rate the contractors have their profit. The Ezo are well aware of this fact and are therefore discontented for they believe that the contractors, who must pay taxes, buy Ezo goods at the very lowest prices. Furthermore, the contractors must assume the risk of stranded vessels and they take into account such contemplated losses when establishing prices for Ezo goods. The Ezo then contend that the contractors make their living wholly at the expense of the Ezo and they are not at all satisfied with this situation. Even in a future trade conducted by the Bakufu this belief will persist and eventually the Ezo will maintain that Bakufu officials make their living by purchasing Ezo goods at low prices—all to no good effect on their loyalty." Mogami then states that trade should be left to each individual to conduct as he chooses. His reasoning is too far fetched and his claims for free trade are not acceptable but his report does reveal the unreasonable exchange rate being imposed at that time on the Ezo.

A F *648 *175 439

were presented with sealed appointments and had orders issued them as if they were a Manchurian colony[42] while, on the other hand, the Santan entered Karafuto when they pleased and traveled about freely hunting in the mountains. In other words, Karafuto came under Manchurian hegemony. When Japan went into Karafuto determined to manage with the same policies and methods the Manchurians used, there was bound to be trouble. So it was vital for the Bakufu to take an interest in the Santan trade.[43]

A F *648 *175 452 439

This was then the situation of the Santan-Ezo trade. But because the Ezo were lazy and the marten skins decreased from year to year until it was necessary for the Ezo to substitute in the trade their own goods plus swords, knives, and other Japanese-made goods obtained from Hokkaidō, many of them went into debt. Since there existed no standard rules for conducting trade, it would be carried on either at an Ezo or a Santan dwelling or sometimes simply on the open road where a price would be agreed upon. If the parties to the transaction were well acquainted, a year's credit was frequently agreed upon. But since the Santan were clever and the Ezo were not, the Ezo often accepted loans from the Santan and, at the expiration of the loan period, quarrels would arise owing to miscalculations or the Ezo would be unable to pay and the result was harsh treatment for the Ezo. Some were taken as human mortgages to serve the Santan as slaves and it is said that in later years women and children were sold.[44] So the Ezo feared the Santan and whenever it was known that the Santan were coming the Ezo would run and hide in the mountains. This timidity made the Santan even more arbitrary and some of them would loot the Ezo houses and hunt as they pleased or eat and drink as they wanted without payment.[45]

A [B49]

A [E61]

The trade center between Matsumae and Karafuto had been moved from Sōya to Shiranushi and in 1790 the Matsumae set up a post in Karafuto. The Orokko trade was handled at Kushunkotan and the Santan trade at Shiranushi and the Ezo were forbidden to go to Santan but since the officials during *Omusha* accepted the trade goods under the name of tribute it only added to the burdens of the Ezo. Thus the Ezo were victims of both the Japanese and the Santan. When the Bakufu stationed Matsuda Denjurō in Karafuto in 1809, he came to the conclusions that either the Ezo debt

A [G51]

---

[42] *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*, Suppl.

[43] Karafuto no gi ni tsuki hyōgi no omomuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on tenor of the discussions concerning Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 765.

[44] "It was the practice to sell the Ezo of this island to the Santan. Regardless of sex the poor and weak without family or kin would be lured out of a village and sold. The price ranged from three or four rolls of brocade to six or seven rolls depending upon physical condition. In cases where the Ezo was in particularly poor condition or so lazy that no satisfactory work could be expected he was not worth brocade and was traded for miscellaneous items." *Kita Ezo Zusetsu*.

[45] *Hokui Dan* 4.

A [E67]